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OMNIPOTENT GOVERNMENT THEORY AND HISTORY

Both by Ludwig von Mises

Ludwig von Mises' *Omnipotent Government* and *Theory and History* are the great laissez-faire economist's most neglected books, neglected even during the notable revival of the Austrian school in the last few years. Though the books are very different, there is one common denominator that may explain much of the neglect: neither work is, strictly speaking, "economics." In both books, Mises shows his breadth and depth as a social scientist by expanding into political science *(Omnipotent Government)* and the philosophy and methodology of the social sciences (*Theory and History*). Yet it would do economists—notoriously, the narrowest of scholars—an enormous amount of good to read these works, and philosophically minded readers will benefit even more.

Omnipotent Government was published during World War II and was one of Mises' first books written in English. It is essentially an analysis of the basic nature of the Nazi and Fascist states. At the time it was published, it was read widely in political-science circles as the major antithesis to the then prevalent Marxian analysis of fascism and nazism: namely, that they were the "last stage" of capitalism—in which the "capitalist class" called on the State to maximize its repression in order to terrorize Marxists and the "working class" movement. Mises was one of the first analysts to attack this concept, and to show that nazism and fascism were totalitarian collectivist systems which had far more in common with communism than with free-market capitalism. And, what is more, they were the logical outcome of the galloping statism and militarism of the pre-fascist societies. Mises' linkage of fascism with Marxian socialism was a shocker in the Marx-laden intellectual world of the 1940s, and it paved the way for the Arendt-Friedrich conception of "totalitarianism" as the common linkage of the three great statisms of the twentieth century.

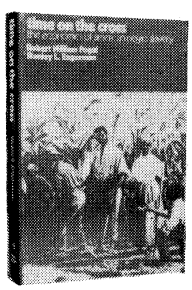
There is an inevitable, though unfortunate, war-time flavor to the work, and Mises' occasional dicta on European foreign policy have been outmoded by the later findings of revisionist historians. But his linkage of the totalitarian countries as common examples of aggravated statism remains, of course, perfectly sound, as does his insight that the only viable alternative to the interventionist-collectivist path is laissez-faire capitalism, the free-market economy and free society.

While *Omnipotent Government* remains highly useful to the present-day reader, *Theory and History* is more than useful; it is one of Mises' greatest works, and indeed one of the great works in this century on the philosophy and methodology of the social sciences. Its neglect is no less than an intellectual tragedy. The central theme of the work is the proper relationship between "theory" and "history" in economics and in all the other social sciences. Implicitly refuting all of modern determinist (including mathematical) economics and other social sciences, Mises shows that each event resulting from the action of individual human beings is necessarily unique. Each event of human history, while of course similar and related to other events, is the unique resultant of the changing and differing values and ideas of myriads of different individuals, each person having his own knowledge and motivations. Hence, these events cannot be treated as homogeneous, random units which can be classified and manipulated to arrive at quantitative laws of history or of social science. Therefore, the applied social theorist is not a "scientist" who can precisely forecast the future; the best he can do is explain and weigh events as an "artist" and make tentative qualitative, rather than quantitative, predictions. Adherents of the Austrian school of economics have been accused of being antiempirical, mystical a priorists, divorced from economic reality. But a thorough reading of *Theory and History* reveals quite the opposite; it is the Misesians—the Austrians—who have the proper respect for the unique, empirical events of human history, whereas it is the pretentious quantitative "economic scientists" who necessarily abuse and distort the rich empirical facts of history in order to arrive at their allegedly "scientific" quantitative "laws" and (invariably wrong) forecasts of the future.

But this bald statement can scarcely convey the richness, the brilliance, the insight with which Mises establishes his view of the proper relation between theory and history, and with which he demolishes the various schools of spurious "scientists" of human history. In the course of the work, Mises sets forth devastating critiques of the historicists, the positivists, the Marxists, and determinists generally, and counters with an excellent defense of freedom of the will in human action. The only weak part of the book is Mises' defense of subjectivist ethics, a position stemming from his utilitarian approach to ethics. But this is the only weak spot in a glorious and highly significant work. It is vitally important that *Theory and History* take a place in renown and influence with Mises' other great masterpieces, *Socialism* and *Human Action*. The full force of Mises' great contributions to human knowledge—and to libertarianism—cannot be understood without immersion into *Theory and History*. REVIEWED BY MURRAY N. ROTHBARD / **Political Philosophy** / *Omnipotent Government* (291 pages) / **LR Price $8.** / *Theory and History* (384 pages) / **LR Price $10**

TIME ON THE CROSS

By Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman



This is a book for many readers, not the least those of us who enjoy seeing the validity and persuasiveness of rigorous economic theory justified and proved in unexpected ways. For, while *Time on the Cross* debunks and disproves almost the entire set of myths and invented beliefs about the history of American black slavery, it is also quite significant for its proof of the power of economic logic.

A brief review of the principal concerns of the work includes, to mention a few of the more salient issues, such (still) popular beliefs as the systematic, brutal mistreatment of slaves; their relegation to the most menial, onerous, and dangerous jobs; indiscriminate tearing apart of slave family units; the unprofitability of the slave-plantation system; sexual abuses by white slave owners of female slaves; and the existence of "breeding farms" to mass produce slaves for the market. In the authors' words, "it is widely assumed that the plantation regime under which most slaves lived was so cruel, the exploitation so severe, the repression so complete, that blacks were thoroughly demoralized by it. In this view, blacks were virtually cultural ciphers until they obtained their freedom in 1865."

The evidence, however, is very much to the contrary. Twenty-five percent of male slaves were managers, craftsmen, or semiskilled workers; the treatment of slaves was precisely what any economist would assume (and should long ago have been suggesting) for a valuable piece of capital equipment, i.e., solicitous concern not to injure or abuse the asset while maintaining it in good working order; families and close family ties were strongly encouraged and preserved; and the stories of sexual abuse can only be described as a rather obscene form of pure propaganda.

The energy value of the diet of the slave population was, on average, 10 percent higher than that of all United States whites; they lived overwhelmingly in single-family dwellings; they received, for their day, above average medical care and clothing; and less than 2 percent of all sales of slaves represented anything other than the breaking up of plantation establishments.

These then are some of the principal propositions advanced by Fogel and Engerman that have caused emotional arguments, abusive name-calling, a few pushes and shoves, and other unkindly things to occur in the

(Continued on page 2)

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Fogel/Engerman—*(Continued from page 1)*

"scholarly discussions" of this seminal work. Many conventional historians who neither understand nor appreciate objective economic studies have felt personally betrayed by interloping economists (whether they were also historians or not) who threatened their intellectual security. The professional apologists for the intransigence of black economic recovery are dismayed at the loss of the principal foundation for their "sociological" rationalizations, and just about everyone (including me) has more or less reservations about the statistical techniques of the new breed of historians called "cliometricians."

I include myself in the last group because it seems to me that in many respects the work would have been stronger, not weaker, had the authors relied more on offers of nonstatistical economic proof of many of their propositions. For while I must admit that I often delight in (and generally only trust) statistical studies consistent with what I view as sound economic theory, in this case the authors apparently intentionally chose to avoid most nonempirical proofs. A nice opportunity was lost to teach historians some basic economic theory. Certainly, however, that is a sign of the times, and the market works as much for economic styles as for styles of dress. *De gustibus*, perhaps? At any rate, the hard data and the econometric details are all relegated to a second volume, which is not being directly reviewed here.

The absence of a more a priori approach to their subject may, however, have prevented the authors from noting some intensely interesting points about their own findings. For example, the authors conclude that "the average net rate of the expropriation of slave income [was] about 10%." Imagine, only a 10 percent tax rate on income; and that was slavery! But let me not be misunderstood; few of us would trade our 72 percent marginal rates and those rights we still retain for a 10 percent rate and the life of an ante-bellum black slave. But what is clear from the book, without the authors ever articulating the point, is that if state governments had not strictly enforced rules against such contracts, slaves could have purchased their own freedom in fairly short order. There is no obvious reason to believe that such contracts would not have been frequently entered into, since slaves could and frequently *did* simply work harder or longer to earn extra pay at the free-market price. Thus they could have increased the present wealth position of their owners while gaining their own freedom. Government interference with voluntary agreements that slaves and slave-owners would otherwise have entered into seems to have been a fundamental basis for the perpetuation of the odious slave system. But the story has come down to us through traditional intellectual channels with the capitalist owners as villains and the state not credited with playing more than a minor policing role in the whole mess.

Fogel and Engerman for their part seem a bit too quick (with less evidence or logic than they muster elsewhere) to conclude that the problem with both abolitionist and pro-slavery writers alike was that they suffered a deep and abiding sense of black racial inferiority. That this belief was endemic in the nineteenth century is hardly news, but perhaps the authors attribute relatively too much causal force to this belief and too little to the effects of government intervention.

One of the most fascinating points we learn about slavery is one that has recently been made about modern prison societies as well (again predictable by a priori economics). Rarely is anyone completely enslaved or made a "complete" prisoner. The costs of doing so are usually too high for the "policers." Prisoners are in a position, by virtue of promises to behave in a certain manner, to negotiate "laws" or agreements with their guards in exchange for some leniency. And so it was with slaves and their masters. As economics would imply, to the extent that these policing costs can more cheaply be privatized or internalized, as with slave owners or prison guards, the harshness of the restraint system will be lessened. The greater harshness generally accorded prisoners today compared to ante-bellum slaves is merely additional evidence that government operation of any system makes it more costly to internalize costs and therefore to reach more optimal arrangements. Who would have thought that we could add to that great truth, "the market will provide," an epilogue: "even something for slaves"?

The authors are at their weakest when they attempt to explain the failure of blacks or whites to organize and administer large-scale, profitable, non-slave farms after the Civil War. Having demonstrated that the plantation, gang-labor, slave system was profitable, they offer us no very convincing reason why the market should have failed to function just as efficiently to produce agricultural commodities profitably on a voluntary basis. The authors seem almost content with the conclusionary statement that economies of scale could only be achieved with slave labor and that "free labor was a very poor substitute for slave labor." This would seem to be inconsistent with their findings of the amount of expropriation of slave income by owners, and would suggest that they were using, at best, a misleading measure that omitted a significant additional cost of slavery as measured by its victims.

Again, however, there is an alternative explanation consistent with the authors' statistical findings and based on a point merely alluded to without much emphasis. There are strong hints of interventionist state laws that can explain the apparent anomaly. First, as the authors note, the alternative to slavery in the ante-bellum North and South was not freedom in any full libertarian sense of the term, but rather a "quasi-freedom," where governmental restrictions on activities abounded and where governmental protection of blacks from civil harm was almost non-existent. Thus the slave system may have been economically successful compared to its post-slavery counterpart not because the slave system was inherently more productive, as the authors suggest, but rather because state governments simply would not provide the necessary conditions of freedom under which ex-slaves might have flourished at least as well as they had under private ownership of themselves by others. Again we see the moral that might be drawn from this work: if you have to be a slave, it is probably better to be the slave of an individual than of a State.

Time on the Cross is rich in intellectually stimulating fare for libertarians and non-libertarians alike. It is a truly significant piece of scholarship appearing at a most propitious moment, for it may be a good time for all of us to be learning more about the "peculiar institution" of slavery. *Time on the Cross* gives any thoughtful person cause to consider whether we are not all now being herded into the sort of impoverishing "quasi-free" system that blacks faced in 1865. The picture is not a pretty one from any angle. REVIEWED BY HENRY G. MANNE / **History** (304 pages) / **LR Price $4.95**

FAIR ENOUGH: THE LIFE OF WESTBROOK PEGLER

By Finis Farr

To him, John F. Kennedy was a "low-browed donkey with the honor of a pickpocket." Of Bobby Kennedy, he prayed that "some white patriot of the Southern tier will spatter his spoonful of brains in public premises before the snow flies." He loathed Jews.

But that was the meat-axe Westbrook Pegler at the bitter, bitter end, when the once-grand old phrase-maker, who could perform frontal lobotomies on political big shots without their even knowing it, was reduced to writing for such awful rags as *The Councilor*. Sad, sad, sad: a mechanical Pegler harping perpetually on wornout themes, a brain-weary, gut-shriveled old man who—in Finis Farr's marvelous description of the end—still "tormented himself as he continued to strain for that terrible and never satisfactory word, the last word."

Regrettably, that is the Westbrook Pegler that his enemies, who are legion, have perpetuated in the public's mind. But there was another Pegler—the real Pegler: gracefully iconoclastic, wittily tough but not mean, fearless in the face of mob fancies, wary, oh, so wary of generals and princes and popcorn moguls. At his best, he could write with H. L. Mencken.

This fine book brings back that earlier Pegler—may his memory live forever—in an entertaining, nostalgic, nicely balanced profile. But to tell the truth, much as I enjoyed the Pegler that comes off these pages, I enjoyed Farr just as much. Indeed, he sometimes sounds like a latter-day Pegler. Listen:

"House [President Wilson's sycophant] bore the title of colonel, the rank of any Southern white man who had not served prison time on a morals charge."

Or, "The Mafia stood Hoover on his head for thirty years while his men would occasionally surround some rustic gunman, like John Dillinger, and shoot him full of holes. What Hoover did succeed in doing was to establish a national secret police force, which might be a greater menace to our liberties than it now is if there had ever been any first-rate minds connected with the running of it. Fortunately there were none, a fact which Pegler senses when he dismissed J. Edgar Hoover as 'a night-club fly-cop.'"

Or, "It was sobering to live among people for whom an important part of life had come loose from its moorings and disappeared, like a barn ripped from a low-lying field by a Mississippi flood. The more I thought of it, the less funny it became [that is, Nixon's betrayal of the people who believed in him]. For I realized that something had happened to me, too: the last traces of my pride in being an American had vanished."

When Farr wrote that, I knew he would not disappoint me; and he didn't. Pegler would surely have considered Farr perfect as his biographer, and so, I dare say, will you. REVIEWED BY ROBERT SHERRILL / 236 pages / **LR Price $8.95**

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INTRODUCTION TO MUSICAL LISTENING: A GUIDE TO RECORDED CLASSICAL MUSIC

By John Hospers

PART XII: CHORAL MUSIC OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

We begin this month with a conclusion—the wrap-up of our chronological survey of recordings of the works of individual composers. First, let me commend to your attention the Danish composer Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707). Buxtehude was primarily a composer of organ music, but his final choral work, "Magnificat," is available on Turnabout 34173 (with Bach's "Magnificat" on the other side), and some of his sacred cantatas are on Nonesuch 71258.

We have already considered instrumental works by Lalande (1657-1726), but nothing in his instrumental work prepares us for his one choral work available on records, the "De Profundis." It is an expression of religious faith with all the high spirituality of Palestrina and a work of devastating emotional intensity. I would not say it is greater than the choral music of Victoria, but because it is a work of the eighteenth century rather than the sixteenth, it is written in a musical language more easily understood by us. I have seldom played it for others without the listeners feeling that they had been the beneficiaries of a great experience. This record is a must.

Music IN REVIEW

BACH: CHRISTMAS ORATORIO (3 records) / **LR Price $13.95** (List $15.95)

BACH: MESSE IN H-MOLL (3 records) / **LR Price $19.95** (List $21.95)

BACH: SAINT MATTHEW PASSION (3 records) / **LR Price $15.95** (List $16.95)

BACH: SUITEN FÜR VIOLONCELLO SOLO / LR Price $6.95 (List $7.98)

LALANDE: DE PROFUNDIS / LR Price $2.95 (List $3.95)

We return again to the great English composer Purcell. We have already examined his music under other categories, but he wrote choral music as well, music pristine and pure, like pellucid water. I suggest in particular two fine records: Argo ZRG-724, which contains his "Te Deum" and "Jubilate," with the "Funeral Music" (on the death of Queen Anne) on the other side, and Telefunken S-9558, which contains some of his psalms and sacred songs.

Vivaldi, whose chamber and orchestral works we have already examined, wrote choral music too great to be ignored. I shall not sing the praises of Vivaldi over again, but only recommend four records that together include the greatest of his choral music: his gloriously happy "Gloria" and "Kyrie" (religious music, yet light-years away from Victoria) on RCA LSC-2883, his "Magnificat" (with Monteverdi's on the other side) on Angel S-36012, his pulsing dramatic "Dixit" and "Dominus" on Bach 70678, and his "Credo" on RCA-LSC 2935.

Having listed so many great works, I am still most aware of the many I have omitted. And after all these, is not what follows anticlimactic? I would say, yes, were it not for the music of Bach, the culmination of them all. Bach wrote more stupendous music than anyone else, and I think that more great music (at least in the choral category) was written before Bach than after. And incomparable though Bach's chamber and orchestral works are, even those gigantic achievements take second place to his choral works. Bach's choral music is like a field studded with diamonds; one scarcely knows where to go first to pick them up, for they are there in great and dazzling profusion.

I suggest that you begin with the great "Suiten Für Violoncello Solo." There are many fine recordings of this famous work; the one offered this month by *LR* is excellent, and it includes the beautiful Cantata no. 78 ("Jesu, der du meine Seele"). Another good recording of this work is on Turnabout 34173, coupled with the Buxtehude "Magnificat."

Then listen to a number of Bach cantatas—no mean task, for he wrote over 500 of them, of which about 250 have come down to us. There was a six-month period during which I listened to little else but Bach cantatas, and yet I barely scratched the surface. There are cantatas for every mood, with virtually every combination of instruments, soloists, and choirs. Many months of gratifying listening could be spent on Bach cantatas alone. And now for the first time all of them are being recorded (by Deutsche Grammofon). But let me indicate a few musical landmarks which are such exciting music that no one should be without them: (1) The two famous cantatas, no. 4 ("Christ lag in Totesbanden") and no. 140 ("Wachet auf") are together on Vanguard HM-20. There are numerous other good recordings of both. (2) No. 80 ("Ein feste Burg"), containing the famous Luther reformation hymn, is coupled with the no. 140 on DG-ARC 198407, and with the great no. 104 on Vanguard S-219. (3) No. 100 ("Was Gott tut") is coupled with no. 175 on Vanguard S-230. (4) The ethereal no. 20 ("O Ewigkeit") is coupled with nos. 17, 18, and 19 on the Telefunken two-record set SKW-5. (5) The two great trumpet cantatas, nos. 207 and 214, are coupled on Vanguard S-231. With these as a base, there are a couple of hundred others to sample. Just when you think Bach may finally have run out of musical ideas, you hear a new one which hits you between the eyes, and the tunes of which you find impossible to get out of your head for days afterward.

Next, listen a few times or more to Bach's "Christmas Oratorio," preferably with Munchinger and the Stuttgart Orchestra on the three-record set available from *LR*. You will be not only impressed by Bach's endless musical ingenuity, but uplifted and inspired by the choral climaxes, the powerful and inexorable rhythms, and the endless outpouring of melodies.

And now you are ready for the highest heights of all. The Bach Messe In H-Moll is a Bach experience of sustained exaltation; chorus follows chorus, from the "Kyrie" to the "Sanctus" to the "Hosanna"—with each section carrying you to such a height that you are sure you must be in for a letdown afterward, yet the next section always sustains the sense of spiritual levitation and carries you still further upward. It is, in my opinion, the greatest work of music ever written by anyone. Fortunately there are many excellent recordings of it. Best of all, I think, is the new one conducted by Carboz. The entire mass in this performance, as Richard Freed has written, "from beginning to end, is alive with a radiant, dancing quality that makes it a sustained and convincing paean of joy. It sounds as if every singer and instrumentalist is in love with the music and exhilarated by the discovery of its wonders." The old Robert Shaw recording is still crisp and clean and full of fire (RCA LSC 6157), but it is about 15 years old, and to those interested in sonic excellence it must give way for that reason only.

Where do we go from here? Many find the "St. Matthew Passion" to be the equal of the Messe In H-Moll; I do not, simply because the solo narratives are more frequent and the great choruses less so. But what choruses there are, are of the same incandescent quality as in the Mass. If you get this work, by all means select the inspired performance by Bernstein (somewhat romanticized, perhaps, but profoundly moving).

The four "Lutheran masses" occur together on another fine recording, DG-ARC 2533143/4 (2 records). And the "St. John Passion," though not the equal of the St. Matthew or the Mass, would, by anyone's standards but Bach's, be a towering work. Benjamin Britten's conducting of it is superb (London 13104, 3 records).

Bach's sons were composers, and they thought so little of their father that they used his musical scores (often containing the only copy of immortal works) as scratch paper—which is one reason so many of them have been lost. But one son, Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach, wrote a "Magnificat" that is worth your attention (DG-ARC 198367), though not in his father's league. And the Italian composer Antonio Caldera (1670-1736) is the author of two fine cantatas, available on Nonesuch 71103 and Turnabout 34096.

We have discussed the music of Handel under all the previous categories, but there remain a few choral works not connected with the oratorios discussed earlier. My favorite Handel composition is the "Dettingen Te Deum," a dramatically exciting work full of instrumental fanfares and exulting choruses. For some reason, this work, so full of boundless energy and high drama, is comparatively little known. Only slightly less memorable than the Dettingen is the "Utrecht Te Deum" (DG-ARC 198008).

(Continued on page 4)

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Hospers—*(Continued from page 3)*

We turn once more to Haydn. Haydn is best known for his symphonies. I think he should be known primarily for his quartets and his masses. The masses are much lighter in touch than Bach's, and the music is often jolly and energetic even when the words are not. But there is marvelous music in them. They lack the spiritual elevation of Bach but they are beautifully melodic, often quite happy, and the sad passages are seldom more than mildly melancholy. Haydn wrote 14 masses. My favorite among them is the early "St. Cecilia Mass," which is no longer listed in Schwann, but you might still be able to find it on Haydn Society HS-2028. Very charming indeed is the no. 5, "Little Organ Mass," on Turnabout 34132. Deservedly popular is the no. 7 ("Mass in Time of War"), best performed by Bernstein on Columbia M-32196. The gently sad no. 10 ("Theresienmesse") is on Argo 5500; the no. 11 ("The Creation") is on Argo ZRG-598; and the reflective no. 12 ("Harmonie-messe") is on Argo A-515. For a reason unknown to me, the no. 9 ("Lord Nelson Mass") is the most popular, with a choice of four current recordings. There are several good recordings of Haydn's oratorio "The Creation" (not to be confused with his mass by the same name), of which I recommend the one by Horenstein on Turnabout 34184/5 (2 records).

Mozart was as perfect a master of choral music as of anything to which he turned his hand. In my opinion his operas and his chamber music are his highest achievements, but with Mozart (as with Bach) this does not mean that his other music is second-rate. His most inspiring choral works, I think, are the "Coronation Mass" (K. 317), "The Great Mass" (K. 427), and the famous "Requiem" (K. 626). I suggest getting them all together on four records, superbly conducted by Colin Davis (Philips 67070106), which also give you the "Exsultate" and the very short choral work "Ave Verum Corpus" (K. 618) with one of the simplest and loveliest melodies in the world. If that is too much to buy, get the "Coronation Mass" (K. 317), the "Missa Brevis" (K. 220), and the "Ave Verum Corpus" (K. 618) all on one record, DG 2530356. (*Next month: Choral Music of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.*)

CRIMES WITHOUT VICTIMS

By Edwin M. Schur

Schur's *Crimes Without Victims* is a sociological exploration of three consensual acts proscribed by the state: abortion, homosexuality, and drug use. These proscribed acts have in common the fact that they involve "a willing and private exchange of strongly demanded yet officially proscribed goods and services."

In his discussion of each "deviance," Schur provides an overview of what each involves, refutes commonly held myths, discusses the philosophy and methodology of law enforcement, proposes ameliorations of legal repression ("policy reform"), and deals with commonly voiced objections to such ameliorations.

Schur addresses a host of interesting topics in his discussion of victimless crimes: Does the availability of abortion encourage "promiscuity"? Are drug addicts inherently violent? Why are homosexual relationships generally transient? What is the best form of treatment for drug addicts? How safe are hospital abortions? And many more. In refuting many myths associated with these victimless crimes, Schur provides a valuable service.

Unfortunately his analysis is liberal rather than libertarian. Thus, while he consistently supports reform and liberalization of existing laws, he stops far short of advocating outright repeal. *In fact, Schur rather strongly opposes repeal.* "Legalization," he states, "is not automatically or invariably to be preferred to criminalization." As in much liberal analysis, Schur's position is basically social utilitarian: what matters most is the social good, which is never defined. "Repression" is opposed, but the importance of individual liberty is given only passing deference, and rights as a moral concept are never mentioned at all.

Schur also contributes to the stigmatization of homosexuals, drug addicts, and women who abort, whom he demeans by continually calling their actions "deviances," "problems," et cetera. Never does he seriously consider the possibility that these actions may be entirely good and proper. After all, they threaten the status quo, which Schur seems to equate in general with the "social good."

Another fault of this book is that the material is now rather dated. *Crimes Without Victims* was published in 1965, and all of the material in it is at least 10 years old. Many studies cited are now 20 years old. The law has since changed significantly, particularly in regard to abortion and homosexuality. Abortion laws have been much liberalized, and legal restrictions on homosexuals have been considerably eased. Also, the outpatient treatment of drug addicts, which at the time the book was published was a new and relatively radical idea, has become commonplace. The initial highly positive results of England's drug maintenance program for addicts now have been somewhat compromised by a sharp rise in drug addiction there and increased abuses. The very fact that Schur's analysis is "pragmatic" rather than ethical makes the material much more dated than it would otherwise have been.

The greatest value of *Crimes Without Victims* lies in its exposure of the myths and hypocrisy which surround the proscribing of consensual acts. Schur convincingly demonstrates that laws against abortion, homosexuality, and drug use are unenforceable by their very nature, that the proscription of these acts serves to maintain social norms by creating a class of psychological scapegoats, and that repressive policies seem aimed at affecting the allocation of proscribed goods rather than eliminating them entirely. Quoting Paul Reiwald, Schur leaves us with this paradoxical question: "Is the contention exaggerated, or does it not rather state the simple truth, that man has contrived his institutions for the combat of crime so that he may in fact maintain it?" REVIEWED BY JARRET B. WOLLSTEIN / 180 pages / **LR Price $2.45**

THE ROAD TO SERFDOM

By F. A. von Hayek

I found *The Road To Serfdom* to be a fascinating and unusually valuable book—as well as a remarkably irritating and frustrating one.

Its values outweigh its limitations by intellectual light years. The purpose of eminent economist Hayek is to show the process through which Welfare State policies destroy the market economy and the free choice of the individual citizen, and lead—*however much its proponents may not wish it,* whatever noble motives or good intentions they may have—inexorably to a fascist-nazi form of totalitarianism. Collectivism in any form cannot be combined with freedom, he maintains; to strive to combine them is to end with totalitarianism: "Many who think themselves infinitely superior to the aberrations of nazism and sincerely hate all its manifestations, work at the same time for ideals whose realization would lead straight to the abhorred tyranny."

The great value of this book is not merely that it proclaims the above—much as it desperately needs to be proclaimed—but that, with many examples and from many different aspects, it explains *why* and *how* this must happen.

In a chapter entitled "Planning and Democracy," Hayek carefully outlines the process by which, step by inexorable step, "a democracy which embarks on planning progressively relinquishes its powers." In "Planning and the Rule of Law," he shows how and why the rule of law *necessarily* must be abandoned in a collectivist society, to be replaced by unpredictable, unjust and discretionary rules of the moment.

In "Economic Control and Totalitarianism," he shows why there is no such thing as "merely" control over the economic life of a society, that to be controlled in economic matters is to be controlled in everything: "Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all our ends. And whoever has sole control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower—in short, what men should believe and strive for."

In a chilling chapter entitled "The End of Truth," Hayek shows why central planners *must,* ultimately, strive to undermine in the citizens the sense of and respect for truth. The decisions of the planners have to be rationalized and justified, so that people will accept the validity of the values they must serve. What results is a giant propaganda machine, the perversion of language, the prohibiting of the search for truth, the silencing of any thinking minority.

Because of the importance of this book, it is all the more disconcerting that Hayek seems so wary of laissez-faire capitalism, so willing to accept certain elements of the very danger about which he eloquently warns us. He is quick to make it clear that he is *not* in favor of laissez-faire; he gives his sanction to such Welfare State ideals as a guaranteed minimum standard of living for all, state medical insurance, large scale public works.

However, the contradictions in *The Road To Serfdom* are the problem of the author, not the reader. Hayek's overall case is of the most urgent importance and relevance to all defenders of freedom. REVIEWED BY BARBARA BRANDEN / **Political Philosophy** / (248 pages) / **LR Price $7** (cloth) / **$2.95** (paper)

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PUBLIC PRICES FOR PUBLIC PRODUCTS

Edited by Selma Mushkin

Libertarians too often focus their attention on national political and social issues to the neglect of state and local affairs. Yet if the case for laissez faire is valid, it can and should be applied to these levels of society as well. In particular, libertarians ought to be concerned with demonstrating how market mechanisms can be used to provide municipal "public services." To many observers, the idea of the free market providing roads, parks, fire protection, et cetera, borders on the unthinkable. But when carefully examined, this objection usually does *not* involve the ability of the marketplace to *produce* the public services in question, but rather the question of how, in the absence of coercive taxation, the services could be *paid for*. It is here that the subject of user charges and other voluntary pricing mechanisms becomes significant.

Interestingly, the idea of pricing public services has recently caught the attention of a number of liberal economists specializing in urban problems. A rich sampling of their work is provided in *Public Prices for Public Products*. The book is fascinating in that it provides yet another example of the rediscovery of free-market ideas—in this case, the benefits of market pricing as opposed to administrative fiat—by pragmatic liberals. As editor Selma Mushkin points out, "Under present resource allocation practices within the public sector itself, the wrong product is sometimes produced, in the wrong quantity, and with no (or inappropriate) quality differentiation." In contrast to this dismal picture, Mushkin states, "Prices will provide correct signals to indicate the quantity and quality of things citizens desire, and help bring about the proper balance between private and public production of these things. . . . Price signals also offer a method for trying out and responding to the public's desire for quality changes in public services," that is, more frequent trash collection, more (or fewer) police patrols, new kinds of schooling, et cetera.

The book therefore sets forth the state of the art on pricing urban public services—both in practice and in theory. As Mushkin points out, pricing is already used extensively for such municipal services as water, sewers, electricity (often government-provided), airports, mass transit, and garbage collection. Even police, public hospitals, and recreation departments charge for certain services, though they are largely supported by tax revenues. On the average, 13 percent of municipal revenues were derived from user charges in 1969-70; if water and other utility charges are included, the figure increases to 34 percent.

Following an overview of the current extent of pricing, Part I of *Public Prices* presents four articles on the theory of public prices, including "Economic Efficiency and Pricing" by William S. Vickrey of Columbia, an economist well known for his ideas on pricing urban roadway use for maximum efficiency. These essays, as well as those in Part II, look at pricing pragmatically, not ideologically, pointing out its advantages in many cases, as well as the difficult problems involved in cases of "public goods" (those services which cannot be readily divided into purchasable units, and from which, therefore, nonpayers cannot be excluded). The various authors disagree on the seriousness of the public-goods problem, with several pointing out that very few services are truly public goods. Most alleged public goods have identifiable beneficiaries, and the problem is to develop imaginative enough marketing and pricing schemes. Clearly, here is an area in need of work by libertarians.

Part II provides a number of applications-oriented chapters, applying pricing concepts to such services as solid-waste handling, public transit, fire protection, recreation services, municipal hospitals, and primary and secondary education. Also included are two chapters on effluent charges as an alternative to antipollution regulations. The final two chapters provide additional food for thought. In one, Mushkin proposes that, despite the enumerated benefits of pricing, the poor should still receive certain basic services without paying. How strange it is that liberals remain so paternalistic that they must give the poor the services rather than (as Milton Friedman has suggested) giving them money and letting *them* make the choices (and in the process preserving all the demand-revealing benefits of pricing that Mushkin has earlier set forth)! The last chapter lays out an agenda of unanswered questions about pricing urban services. Libertarian students of economics and urban problems will find here a wealth of ideas for thesis topics and other research projects.

Obviously, *Public Prices* is not a libertarian book. Its authors are reformist liberals in search of marginal improvements in the provision of public services within the framework of existing municipal governments and taxation. Nonetheless, it is an important book for libertarians to be aware of and for students of economics and urban problems to own. For by providing *legitimacy* to the concept of user charges, the book helps prepare the way for those libertarian scholars who will demolish once and for all the case for taxation in a municipal setting. REVIEWED BY ROBERT POOLE, JR. / **Economics** (460 pages) / **LR Price $6.50**

SCRIABIN:

Third Symphony

Philadelphia Orchestra, Eugene Ormandy, Conductor

Fourth and Fifth Symphonies

U.S.S.R. Symphony Orchestra, Yevgeny Svetlanov, Conductor

How can I describe the music of Alexander Scriabin?

Since I am reviewing his last symphonies, I could begin by discussing their purely musical uniqueness, citing Scriabin's development and use of his own distinctive chord (C F sharp B flat E A D), a chord around which his entire Fifth Symphony is built, with the result that it possesses a truly extraordinary coherence and unity, a unity which had become gradually more and more implicit through his Third and Fourth Symphonies. But this mode of description seems inadequate. It isolates only one aspect of the music, namely, the ways in which its component sounds are patterned.

I could begin by discussing the titles and programs which Scriabin provided for his later orchestral music. The Third Symphony is called "The Divine Poem" and is, according to Scriabin's mistress, who wrote the program for the work's first performance, designed to represent "the evolution of the human spirit which, freed from the legends and mysteries of the past which it has surmounted and overthrown, passes through Pantheism and achieves a joyful and exhilarating affirmation of its liberty and its unity with the universe." Through the Symphony's three movements, the human spirit frees itself from its slavery to any God, learns to delight in the pleasures of the sensual world, and finally abandons itself to the supreme joy of free existence, in need of no God because it is God in itself.

The Fourth Symphony is entitled "The Poem of Ecstasy." While he was composing it, Scriabin wrote a poem bearing the same title. And though he later declined to have the poem printed for performances of the symphony, he more than once referred to it as the music's explanatory text. The poem presents a sense of life not markedly different from the one in the program of "The Divine Poem." Scriabin's biographer, Faubion Bowers, describes it this way:

> It is Spirit's great self-assertion, *Ya es'm* or 'I am,' reached after a gamut of emotions and experiences—delicious excitement followed by soothing languor, terror, doubt, 'the maggot of sateity. . . the bite of hyenas. . . sting of serpent,' intoxication, burning kisses, spiritual and temporal love-making and, ultimately, ecstasy.

The Fifth Symphony is titled "Prometheus, The Poem of Fire." It is a free fantasia on the myth of Prometheus, the demigod who defied Olympus and gave Man the gift of fire. The work is highly programmatic, introducing eleven different themes in succession, to represent Original Chaos, the Creative Principle, Will, the Dawn of Human Consciousness (Reason), the Joy of Life (Self-discovery), the Play of Creative Spirit, and Self-affirmation. But even though Scriabin's programs cast light on his music, they are words, not periodic tones. And they cannot convey the nearly indescribable experience of *listening* to these symphonic poems.

If any single word can encapsulate that experience, it is: passion. Scriabin's music is above all passionate, whether it sings of a passionate desire for freedom, as in the "Divine Poem," or of passionate love, as in the "Poem of Ecstasy," or of passion for life, as in "Prometheus," or of passionate self-affirmation, as in all of his later music.

In the end, though, words, one or several, can never do the trick. Writing about music must always be a more-or-less doomed attempt to translate the untranslatable. In the case of Alexander Scriabin, they can at best be used with indirection—to suggest, if not actually to convey, the almost unbelievable intensity, heroism and purely musical innovativeness of his achievement. REVIEWED BY JEFF RIGGENBACH / **Classical Recordings** / *Third Symphony* / **LR Price $4.95** (List price $6.98) / *Fourth and Fifth Symphonies* / **LR Price $4.95** (List price $6.98)

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LIBERTY AND THE GREAT LIBERTARIANS

Edited by Charles T. Sprading

Students of liberty can justifiably rejoice at the republishing of this collection of essays gathered by Charles T. Sprading. The original 1913 compilation reissued in 1972 without an alteration is a classic and a must.

Those who are serious in their pursuit of understanding within the libertarian/individualist framework would do well to begin their perusal with Sprading's excellent introduction to his own gleanings from the individualist vineyard. Without this guide, it might be difficult to justify some of his selections as indicative of the thinking of the great libertarians. What Sprading has done is to set down his own particular viewpoint and then choose essays by more than two-score writers which help to sustain and flesh out his position.

Writing in the opening years of the twentieth century, Sprading is filled with optimism concerning the inevitable triumph of libertarian principles. He sees the nineteenth century as a time of struggle and anticipates the twentieth as one of peace and fulfillment. The collection, published a year before the opening guns of World War I, is filled with bright promise, on the assumption that the logic and rightness of individualism and liberty will inevitably pervade the minds of thinking men and that we are (circa 1913) on the threshold of a libertarian century. Ironically, one is reminded that libertarians, however right they may be in principle, have been but indifferent seers. To date, this century has been the bloodiest and perhaps the costliest in terms of lost liberty of all the centuries for which records have been compiled.

Sprading makes another sweeping assumption. It is that by common consent all "economists are agreed that there are four methods by which wealth is acquired by those who do not produce it. These are interest, profit, rent, and taxes, each of which is based upon special privilege, and all are gross violations of the principle of equal liberty."

Modern scholars are not so certain that economists have agreed in this case or, for that matter, in any other. There are a number of libertarian scholars who see taxes as a privilege but who recognize profits, rents, and interest as arising from the voluntary actions of customers or those who enter into contracts volitionally.

If the reader will hurdle the misplaced optimism which haloes the twentieth century and the bland agreement with Marx concerning the villainy of those who accept profits, rents, and interest, he will find a rich harvest of ideas and arguments useful to the libertarian position as it seems presently to be.

Consider these splendid examples:

"An appeal to the majority is a resort to force and not an appeal to intelligence; the majority is always ignorant and by increasing the majority, we multiply ignorance...." "Liberty leads to peace, while authority necessarily leads to war." (Sprading)

"Liberty for the few is not liberty. Liberty for me and slavery for you means slavery for both." (Samuel M. Jones)

"War never can be the interest of a trading nation any more than quarreling can be profitable to a man in business. But to make war with those who trade is like setting a bulldog upon a customer at the shop-door." "Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one." (Thomas Paine)

"A general concurrence of opinion seems to authorize us to say it [the Constitution] has some defects. I am one of those who think it a defect, that the important rights not placed in security by the frame of the Constitution itself were not explicitly secured by a supplementary declaration." "Every constitution, then, and every law, naturally expires at the end of thirty-four years [the average life]." (Thomas Jefferson)

"Our judgment will always suspect those weapons that can be used with equal chance of success on both sides. Therefore we should regard all force with aversion." (William Godwin)

"Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members." (Ralph Waldo Emerson)

"When I look at these crowded thousands, and see them trample on their consciences and the rights of their fellowmen at the bidding of a piece of parchment, I say, my curse be on the Constitution of the United States." (William Lloyd Garrison)

"How does it become a man to behave toward this American government today? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace be associated with it." (Henry David Thoreau)

There is much, much more here, from the pens of Herbert Spencer, Stephen Pearl Andrews, Lysander Spooner, Robert G. Ingersoll, Benjamin Tucker, Auberon Herbert, Maria Montessori, and more than twice that number, which sustains the individualist or libertarian position in one or another manner.

Liberty and the Great Libertarians is a pivotal book; it belongs in every free man's library. In the attractive hardcover edition now available, those who cherish liberty can find courage as well as ably turned phrases by means of which to advance their cause. REVIEWED BY ROBERT LEFEVRE / **Political Philosophy–Libertarianism** (540 pages) / **LR Price $23**

INSIGHTS AND ILLUSIONS OF PHILOSOPHY

By Jean Piaget

Let me confess one of my own inner conflicts from the start. After putting down what struck me as the most important volume I had run into in the past year or so, I was tempted to urge every person I know to buy a copy of Piaget's *Insights and Illusions of Philosophy*. In terms of its application to a question which has not yet been given sufficient serious scientific reflection by libertarians—I refer here to the very "nature of man's consciousness"—the book is an absolute must.

Yet I must in all truth confess, my didacticism crumbling before a fundamental sense of honesty, that Piaget is not for the general reader. Wolfe Mays' translation from the French is quite readable, but it does not lessen the impact of the Swiss psychologist's style, which is replete with technical terminology borrowed from a number of disciplines. This is not to say that Piaget is writing in "fifty-cent word academic" prose. Quite the contrary. The absence of the author's skilled usage of philosophical and psychological jargon would double the length of the book and make it vague and incomprehensible. But forewarned is fair-warned; if you enjoy having ideas handed to you by authors who do not expect you to bring to your reading a knowledge of the fundamentals of their subject matter, then this book is not for you.

If, on the other hand, you are interested in obtaining an introduction to a comprehensive epistemology from a writer who will not leave you hanging on the edge of rationality, ready to topple into a metaphysical pit as soon as the nature of knowledge proceeds from a discussion of stage A (the integration of perceptions) to something more worthy of a twentieth-century mind, then you owe yourself the delightful frustration it takes to grasp Piaget.

Insights and Illusions of Philosophy is a multifaceted volume, part intellectual autobiography, part reportage of the author's own research into the cognitive processes of children, and part well-reasoned disgust with the vogue enjoyed by phenomenology and existentialism in contemporary philosophy. But the volume centers primarily on the limited usefulness of speculative philosophy. As the author notes, speculative reflection "can only lead to the elaboration of hypotheses," for without "verification by a group of facts established experimentally or by a deduction conforming to an exact algorithm... the criterion of truth can only remain subjective...."

Piaget brilliantly cites twentieth-century developments in all areas of science and in mathematics to argue that investigations to determine the validity of propositions in all branches of science, save metaphysics, are more properly done by the scientific researcher. Whereas at the turn of the century we did not have the tools given us by the physics of relativity and by the discipline of cybernetics, thus causing us to see man as either an automaton a la mechanism or else a free-willed creature endowed with some metaphysically-based élan vital, these developments have led us to treat epistemology as a science.

The founder of an interdisciplinary research group devoted to studying epistemology in a scientific fashion, Piaget essentially views free will as a function of man's nature as a highly developed autoregulatory mechanism. Without going into more detail, suffice it to say that he is far from being a behaviorist, and at the same time, far from being a metaphysician.

Piaget's example of Bergson, lacking training in science, struggling to defeat Einstein's spatio-temporal models, might well serve as a warning for some libertarians who persist in being ostrich-headed armchair speculators. For those who have become increasingly uncomfortable with pie-in-the-sky epistemological speculation, Piaget offers a charming, tasty morsel. REVIEWED BY C. RONALD KIMBERLING / **Philosophy** (232 pages) / **LR Price $3.95**

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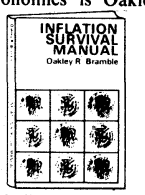

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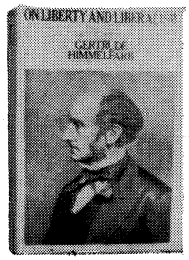
ON LIBERTY AND LIBERALISM: T

By Gertrude



Symbolic of the decline of American culture, so strongly exemplified by the Nixon presidency, is the rapid change in ideological principles and the formation of new political categories. Of course, in that decline the fact and the necessity of recognizing libertarianism is manifested. The latest spectacle in the maelstrom is the conservative-chic, New, New Conservatism, huddled around *Commentary* magazine. A score of years ago, in the midst of the political rout of the Old Right, a false dawn had been imagined with the expectation of the publication of Russell Kirk's *The Conservative Mind*. Although none of the Old Rightists considered themselves conservatives (conservatism had seemed inconsistent with their rationalist, laissez-faire, and isolationist principles), much was expected of Kirk's new work, since he had already written his better book, *Randolph of Roanoke*. The truth of the incompatibility of Old Right principles and conservatism was confirmed by Kirk's new book. The most recent phase of conservative politics—the "emerging Republican majority" of Nixon—based upon the adherence of American workers—essentially the Catholic ethnics (Irish, Polish, German, Italian, Hungarian) concerned about the social issues of bearing the burden of the unproductive—has exploded in the face of the Nixon inflation, Republican big budgets, and high taxes, which were even more destructive of the middle class than the social measures redistributing wealth to the unproductive. As the political base among the huge Catholic ethnic population dissolved, the New, New Conservatism has established a formal ideological denomination around the *Commentary* set, which includes Gertrude Himmelfarb.

In a sense, what had been attempted by the Nixon strategy was the addition of the Catholic ethnics to the Republican political tradition of a WASP establishment sharing power with the assimilated Negro and German-Jewish leaderships. The Democratic Party had been the home of the urban ethnic constituencies (including the Polish-Lithuanian Jews when they gained autonomy) and the exploited whites of the South, who had fought and spent for Confederate independence. The failure of the Catholic ethnics to sustain the Nixon strategy has left the Republican Party back where it started, with its WASP establishment elites; and the emergence of the New, New Conservatism is an expression of this weakness. Despite its electoral weakness, the New, New Conservatism is important because its constituency is academic. These academics are most open to stupid current liberalism and stupid conservatism (it was Mill who christened the conservatives the "stupid party") depending on the emotions upon which each of these giant stupid philosophical systems is able to play.

It is not surprising that the target selected by the New, New Conservatism as its major enemy is libertarian philosophy. The opening canonade is Gertrude Himmelfarb's *On Liberty and Liberalism*. Professor Himmelfarb has made important contributions to the history of political thought with her books *Lord Acton, A Study in Conscience and Politics* and *Victorian Minds*, a collection of stimulating essays. They treat subjects valuable for libertarian scholarship by taking an identifiably non-libertarian position. She has recognized libertarian principles as the enemy and thus is required reading for libertarians if they wish to be the clear-headed, common-sense libertarians that are needed today. As a more theoretical book, *On Liberty and Liberalism* is especially important reading for libertarians.

Himmelfarb has zeroed in on John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* as the most widely known defense of individualism in the English-speaking world. She believes that if she can undermine the consistent liberalism expressed by Mill the philosophical foundations of individualism will receive a major blow and the socialism upon which the New, New Conservatism is founded will have an open field. Himmelfarb uses the "other" Mill, Mill's earlier writings, in opposition to the mature Mill of *On Liberty*. Many of the earlier writings reflected the younger Mill's interest in the socialist critics' negative contributions in reference to the inconsistencies of the utilitarian and Whig philosophies. Mill's father, James Mill, chief disciple of Bentham and Ricardo, put forward the utilitarian defense of government by majority as the greatest good for the greatest number. Thomas Macaulay responded for the Whigs.

Bentham started with the fact that society or community was a fiction, as it was only a sum of individuals and nothing more. But, by thinking of sums at all, Bentham admitted the majority's ability to rule as the sum of the most individual goods and wills. Thus Bentham's hostility to liberty and rights and his ultimate support of power. Indeed, there was an attitude that liberty and rights were evils as they "might provide a sanctuary for individuals or minorities and thus interfere with the operation of the majoritarian principle." Thus the wrong, Whig, concept of rights (i.e., privileges) led to the opposite, Rousseauean, majoritarian conclusion of utilitarianism. It was the Whig attitude about rights—however inconsistently and wrongly defined—and about liberty that awakened the younger Mill's doubts about his father's utilitarianism, while Whig inconsistency caused him to look to the negative contributions of socialist critics. Yet, in the end, Mill came down on the side of extreme individualism; he saw liberty as the resistance to the pressure of the majority, the State, which was tyranny, and as absolute individualism in which the individual is endowed with all positive qualities, excluding *any* power to society.

JOHN STUART MILL used as the epigraph for *On Liberty* this quotation from Wilhelm von Humboldt: "The grand, leading principle, towards which every argument unfolded in these pages directly converges, is the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity." Humboldt's book, reissued as *The Limits of State Action*, had been written in 1791-92 under the influence of the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man, but had not been published until 1852 and was not translated into English until 1854. Himmelfarb finds it curious that the sole philosopher of the moderns or ancients selected by Mill was the obscure Humboldt. The obvious conclusion—which Himmelfarb does not draw—is that Humboldt, as the author of the most anarchist work then extant, was the one philosopher with ideas nearest to the maturity of Mill's thought. Mill summarized Humboldt's thesis as:

> That "the end of man, or that which is prescribed by the eternal or immutable dictates of reason, and not suggested by vague and transient desires, is the highest and most harmonious development of his powers to a complete and consistent whole"; that, therefore, the

BUILDING THE ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIETY

Edited by Jerry Israel

One of the outstanding contributions of New Left scholarship has been its insight into the origin of the present corporate state, beginning in the Progressive period (1900-18), and tightening its grip with the New Deal, Fair Deal, and beyond. Gabriel Kolko, in his brilliant *Triumph of Conservatism*, demonstrated that certain leading big-business groups, after failing to achieve monopolies on the free market, turned to government control and regulation as a means of cartellizing industry for their benefit. In that way, monopolies were imposed on the economy by government in the name of restricting "big-business monopoly." In his complementary *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State*, James Weinstein concentrated on the corporate and statist ideology of those big-business groups centered in the highly influential National Civic Federation, which derided what it called the "anarchism" of the then free-market oriented National Association of Manufacturers. Then, in his *Designing the Industrial State*, James Gilbert explored the ideology of the collectivist intellectuals of the Progressive era, showing how they wove the apologetics for the corporate state in order to take their place as technocratic planners of the new society.

This collection of essays edited by Professor Israel now becomes one of the most important contributions to this "revisionist" literature. The first group of essays concentrates on various professional associations which

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HE CASE OF JOHN STUART MILL

Himmelfarb

object "towards which every human being must ceaselessly direct his efforts, and on which especially those who design to influence their fellow-men must ever keep their eyes, is the individuality of power and development"; that for this there are two requisites, "freedom and variety of situations"; and that from the union of these arise "individual vigour and manifold diversity," which combine themselves in "originality."

Himmelfarb correctly identifies Mill's assumption: "the greater the exercise of 'spontaneity and individuality,' the greater the quantity and intensity of 'desires and impulses,' the greater the 'variety of situations' upon which the individual could freely act, the more probable it was that all of this activity would add up to good rather than bad." Mill's attitude about human nature is manifest in this statement. He totally opposed the concept that human nature was radically corrupt and inclined to evil. Mill denounced the Puritan or Calvinist concept of human nature's corruption and of perfection being achieved only when "human nature is killed within him." Puritanism saw obedience as the path to good through the denial of one's self or denial of other selves. Mill favored a combination of Classical stoicism and pre-Calvinist Christianity as a moral system.

A major necessity which required freedom which was not important to the Calvinist or the utilitarian was the fact that it might at first be used only by a few. But, for Mill, that was an especially important reason to favor liberty, since originality, a major aim of liberty, would come to a wider population only by its exercise by a few. Mill viewed *On Liberty* as aimed toward making a wider number aware of the foundations of liberty. The greater the amount of nonconformity and eccentricity the greater the possibility of genius. Mill declared, "Eccentricity has always abounded when and where strength of character has abounded; and the amount of eccentricity in a society has generally been proportional to the amount of genius, mental vigour, and moral courage it contained." No wonder Mill's *On Liberty* is not considered fit food by the New, New Conservatives.

Mill's opposition to the majoritarian Rousseauean concepts of the Benthamites is especially upsetting to the New, New Conservatives. A government which was totally reflective of the people's wishes and exercised coercion only in agreement with what the government considered the people's wishes was viewed by Mill as illegitimate and despotic. Mill considered power exercised in cooperation with public opinion as "more noxious" than that in opposition to public opinion: "If all mankind, minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind." Thus Mill, to the horror of Himmelfarb, rejects all of Auguste Comte, not just what might be considered bad, but what New, New Conservatives think best in Comte—democracy, fraternity, authority, and obedience.

Mill found the argument in favor of bureaucracy, that it was intelligent and efficient, a negation. Not only was that efficiency and intelligence an oppression of the rest of the population, but it was fatal to society the more the efficient and intelligent part of the population was concentrated in bureaucracy rather than in the free part of society. An early problem about bureaucracy centers on children, since schools and protection of children was an early entering wedge of bureaucracy in the nineteenth century. The question of obligation between parent and child was an important one for Mill. At the age of seventeen, Mill, seeing a dead abandoned infant and the hanging bodies of the executed, centered on the virtue of positive birth control in place of the Malthusian "moral restraint." The great radical Francis Place gave Mill pamphlets on practical birth control which he distributed to the working class; he was arrested for obscenity and jailed. The virtue of birth control for the progress of civilization remained important for Mill. He hoped that education and the freedom of education and nonconforming opinions would permit its acceptance. Needless to say, education and related issues concerning children remain a set of questions requiring solution even today.

DESPITE HIMMELFARB, to the contrary, it is clear that Mill's *On Liberty* represents a later and more mature development of his thought. Her objection to the absolutism of liberty in Mill's position is that it was based upon his conclusion that women remained unfree in Victorian society. The Women's Convention in Massachusetts in 1850 was the inspiration for Mill's "Enfranchisement of Women." Mill argued that it was in the best interest of men, as well as women, that women be liberated. Thus, the liberty of women required an absolute liberty for mankind. Mill's early interest in socialist writers—especially Fourier, a cooperative rather than a statist socialist—was rooted in their presentation of the more individualist position regarding marriage, divorce, and the rights of women. Himmelfarb sees Mill's praise of individuality, creativity, and originality, his distrust of custom, public opinion, and conformity, as parallel to contemporary searches for authenticity and autonomy. Mill's concept went beyond the accepted thought of liberalism—utilitarianism, Unitarianism, evangelicialism, and Whiggism. He extended the "principle of freedom to the entire range of opinion and, more radically, to the entire range of action." Himmelfarb finds that the absolutism of Mill's concept of liberty violates all of the other political modes—tradition, prescription, law, interest, utility, and prudence. She views Mill's major contribution to have been an extension of freedom to include individuality of action.

Himmelfarb, noting that the reaction of modern thinkers to Stalinism has been to posit Mill's absolute liberty, attacks their inclination "to think that only absolute liberty can forestall absolute despotism, that the only corrective to the absolute sovereignty of the state is the absolute sovereignty of the individual." According to her, modern thinkers must reject this because the principle of absolute individuality clashes with their desire for government social and economic legislation. One wonders what it is that Himmelfarb fears from modern thinkers confronting this contradiction in their thought? Some might prefer absolute individuality, despite *Commentary*'s preference for the welfare state. Her fear is best expressed in her reference to Lord Acton, who, her study of his thought has indicated, followed the same route as Mill. Acton's mature thought opted for an absolute liberty and individuality and "turned... bitterly against Burke and the Whig tradition." When the two great English minds of the nineteenth century come down in favor of absolute liberty, defenders of the twentieth-century State must work overtime to try to undermine their decision. It is these issues which make Himmelfarb's book must reading for thoughtful libertarians. REVIEWED BY LEONARD P. LIGGIO / **Political Philosophy** (345 pages) / **LR Price $8.95**

developed in the Progressive period and which played a leading role in pushing for technocracy and corporatism in their particular areas. Thus, John C. Burnham outlines the drive for social control by physicians and psychotherapists in the Progressive era, and Monte Calvert concentrates on the technocratic role of the burgeoning engineering societies. Particularly important is the essay by David B. Tyack on "City Schools: Centralization of Control at the Turn of the Century." Tyack, himself the leading revisionist historian of the urban public school system, summarizes recent research into the centralizing and dictatorial movement to strengthen the influence of the public school system in this period.

In his essay, Ronald Radosh shows how Herbert Hoover helped to foster trade unionism in the early 1920s, in collaboration with Samuel Gompers and the AFL. Other essays concentrate on the critical role of organized big-business-oriented policy groups in pushing for expanded government power and control: James J. Lorence describes the influential activities of the American Asiatic Association in pushing the American government into an imperialist stance in the Far East, and Michael A. Lutzker dissects the anomaly of the conservative "peace" organizations before World War I. Most significantly, David W. Eakins gives us the benefit of some of his extensive research into the powerful role of the "corporate liberal policy organizations"; in his essay, he examines the origins of such "scientific" statist groups as the Brookings Institution, the National Bureau of Economic Research, the National Research Council, and the Twentieth Century Fund.

The final set of essays concentrates on the growth of Progressivism in the various departments of the federal government. Particularly important are Robert D. Cuff's history of the origins of World War I planning in the Council of National Defense, and Peter Karsten's fascinating study of the "Armed Progressives," particularly in the Navy Department.

All in all, this is a gold mine of material on the rise of the corporate state in America. REVIEWED BY MURRAY N. ROTHBARD / **History** (341 pages) / **LR Price $9.95**

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ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST

By Ken Kesey

If you want to know what it means for psychological growth to begin, read this passage from Ken Kesey's novel *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest:*

> There was times that week when I'd hear that full-throttled laugh, watch him scratching his belly and stretching and yawning and leaning back to wink at whoever he was joking with, everything coming to him just as natural as drawing breath, and.... I'd think, maybe he truly is something extraordinary. He's what he is, that's it. Maybe that makes him strong enough, being what he is....
>
> And later, hiding in the latrine from the black boys, I'd take a look at my own self in the mirror and wonder how it was possible that anybody could manage such an enormous thing as being what he was.... I'd think, That ain't me, that ain't my face.... It don't seem like I ever been me. How can McMurphy be what he is?

These are the words of a permanent inmate in a mental hospital, a man written off long ago as hopelessly, incurably schizophrenic. McMurphy, the person who inspires these reflections, has been classified by the hospital authorities as a "disruptive influence" and a serious threat to "discipline." This would be a grimly ironic comment on mental hospitals and on the whole "mental health" ideology—except that Kesey's style of attack is not ironic, but savage, unrestrained, searing.

People grow *from inside*, through becoming "what they are," Kesey insists; the attempt to "adjust" people to external social standards is *destructive* of any meaningful kind of psychological well-being. To be alive and free psychologically *means* being socially "disruptive." Kesey expresses this theme not through explicit preaching, but through the events of a tight, skillfully told—and damn good—story.

McMurphy, the protagonist, is a hero, but a tragic one—a man of such strength and autonomy that he cannot understand those around him, cannot fully believe the extent of their weakness. Thus, when he is committed to the mental hospital for "treatment," he naturally expects the other inmates to join him in his fight against the system. His error (like that of many libertarian activists) is his inability to grasp the fact that most people do not *want* to be self-assertive and free.

Yet, incredibly, McMurphy does score major victories against the mental-health "combine"; in one respect, his crusade is an unqualified success. Much of this novel will make you want to laugh or cheer out loud. Even its harrowing ending will leave you with a sense of triumph, and of hope. REVIEWED BY ROBERT MASTERS / **Fiction** (272 pages) / **LR Price $1.25**

Book Briefs

NONE OF YOUR BUSINESS: GOVERNMENT SECRECY IN AMERICA

Edited by Norman Dorsen & Stephen Gillers

"These collected papers, given at a conference held in May 1973, provide an excellent background on a complex issue of increasing concern. The participants included legal scholars, journalists, present and former government officials, and members of Congress. Their individual papers and discussions range over such crucial topics as executive privilege, security classification, the relationship of secrecy to government intelligence activities, the 1966 Freedom of Information Act (the question of freedom of the press generally), and the impact of the computer.... This represents almost a 'state of the art' report."—Scott Wright in *Library Journal* / 416 pages / **LR Price $12.50**

STATE SECRETS

By Caul Cowan, Nick Egleson, & Nat Hentoff

"The role of political police in the United States since World War I has been confined for the most part to guarding us against Communists and Trotskyists. In the activist 60s the targets broadended and blurred in a 'New Left' world of dissidents, militants, radicals, extremists. Political surveillance made a quantum jump.

"*State Secrets*, subtitled "Police Surveillance in America," is a miscellany of six essays, most of them previously published elsewhere. They examine the investigative techniques used, print a 100-page selection from the FBI papers stolen from its branch office in Media, Pa., in March 1971, and end with a tribute to the Middle American jury that exonerated Berrigan, et al, of conspiracy in the Harrisburg trial....

"This volume performs a useful service. Not only does it collate the available information on investigation practices, but it also discusses the improper use of grand juries by prosecutors who seek information rather than indictments, and it makes some recommendations on the control of private and public data-banks. In sum, it underlines the need for us all to practice the first rule in an open society: vigilance against over-vigilant public servants."—Harry A. Rositske in the *Washington Star* / 333 pages / **LR Price $10**

THE PHAETON RIDE: THE CRISIS OF AMERICAN SUCCESS

By Forrest McDonald

"Historian Forrest McDonald, author of a dozen books on American history, has come along with a fascinating theory on how the American economy arrived at its present predicament, and along the way he blames practically everybody, from Thomas Jefferson to Ralph Nader. In fact, he does blame everybody, saying that it is part of the American character to 'accept the irreversibility of history (what's done is done), avoid fundamental problems, ignore contradictions and go on from there.' In this thoughtful, provocative, skillfully written book McDonald warns that the fundamental problems and contradictions of our political-economic existence are catching up with us.

"McDonald is not without bias. He believes that business and profit have been good for America. Socialists will find no friend here. Nor will the fuzzy thinkers among us who enjoy the fruits of a competitive economy but who lose no opportunity to decry the profits of companies that make it possible."—Richard Gosswiller in the *Chicago Tribune* / **History** (255 pages) / **LR Price $7.95**

DON'T PUSH YOUR PRESCHOOLER

By Louise Bates Ames & Joan Ames Chase

"Ames and Chase advise parents of preschoolers to enjoy their children and not worry about their achievements. Emphasizing the role of heredity in children's capabilities, they attack the theories of environmentalists and of those who advocate teaching babies to read. While they mention ways in which parents can help to develop their children's capabilities they counsel against expectations which exceed natural limitations.... Some will consider these views sexist or racist; some will also question their reliance on Sheldon's body-type theory of personality. Still, this should be helpful for many parents, and the annotated bibliography enhances its usefulness...."—Carol Eckberg in *Library Journal* / **Education–Psychology** (224 pages) / **LR Price $6.95**

SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS ARE CHRISTIANS

By Paul Blanshard

"The octogenarian 'dean of American controversy' discusses how his religious and philosophical views have developed over the last 50 years or so. This book is vintage Blanshard. He says, for example, 'Today's remarkable religious liberty in America is based in part on our blessed policy of the separation of church and state.... Nothing in our history deserves more praise. When Jefferson and Madison sponsored the First Amendment's statement on established religion: "Congress shall make no law respecting establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," few men could have dreamed that this simple pronouncement could become the basis of a broad cultural innovation in Western Society.' "—*Church & State* / 189 pages / **LR Price $5.95**

DIVORCED IN AMERICA

By Joseph Epstein

"*Divorced in America* is subtitled: 'Marriage in an Age of Possibility.' Epstein heartily endorses the liberalization of divorce laws, so that what is inevitable can be achieved with a minimum of additional suffering. He endorses the trend toward positive feelings about sexuality. He respects the growing number of women who no longer find fulfillment in marriage and children alone. Yet, as a man who obviously still believes in the nuclear family and who has not found a satisfactory alternative, the 'sea of possibility' upon which we are now adrift where we find the humdrum of daily life ever less satisfactory when compared to its billing—sexual reveries, dynamic careers, exciting people—poses more threat than promise.

"As reportage, *Divorced in America* is straightforward and first-rate. But it's not that simple. Epstein is on to something: marriage and family cannot compete with the glittering grail of personal liberation and fulfillment we as a society are presently pursuing. The question we must eventually face is—which will it be?"—David Graber in *Human Behavior* / **Psychology** (320 pages) / **LR Price $10**

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HOW TO END POVERTY by Dean Russell / Dean Russell explains how free market capitalism makes people far better off in every way. Russell shows why the socialist doctrines of Marx & Engels were wrong: why the industrial revolution produced unprecedented prosperity, cutting infant mortality and increasing the average lifespan; and why profits, not laws and bureaucrats, motivate entrepreneurs to improve our way of life.

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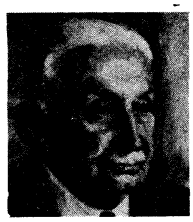

Ludwig von Mises is author of HUMAN ACTION, PLANNING FOR FREEDOM, BUREAUCRACY, THE ANTI-CAPITALISTIC MENTALITY, THE FREE AND PROSPEROUS COMMONWEALTH and many other books, plus dozens of articles published in scholarly journals, anthologies, popular magazines and newspapers. His works have been translated into eight foreign languages.

Henry Hazlitt is the author of ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON, THE FAILURE OF THE "NEW ECONOMICS", THE FREE MAN'S LIBRARY, TIME WILL RUN BACK, WHAT YOU SHOULD KNOW ABOUT INFLATION and seven other books. He has contributed articles to the NEW YORK TIMES, THE AMERICAN MERCURY, NATIONAL REVIEW, HUMAN EVENTS, NEWSWEEK and many other publications.

Professor Murray Rothbard is a prolific author as well as economic analyst and scholar. His books include AMERICA'S GREAT DEPRESSION, POWER AND MARKET, MAN, ECONOMY AND STATE and WHAT HAS GOVERNMENT DONE TO OUR MONEY? Dr. Rothbard has contributed articles to six other books and to the NEW YORK TIMES, INTELLECTUAL DIGEST, THE FREEMAN, HUMAN EVENTS, QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS, AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW and dozens of other publications.

Professor Milton Friedman is author of CAPITALISM AND FREEDOM, A PROGRAM FOR MONETARY STABILITY, DOLLARS AND DEFICITS and A MONETARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, as well as dozens of articles in scholarly and popular publications around the world. He writes a regular economics column for NEWSWEEK.

Leonard Read is President of the Foundation for Economic Education. He is the author of THE FREE MARKET AND ITS ENEMY, ELEMENTS OF LIBERTARIAN LEADERSHIP, LET FREEDOM REIGN and eight other noted books about freedom and the free market.

Professor Percy Greaves has contributed articles to six books including ON FREEDOM AND FREE ENTERPRISE and ON LIBERTY. He has written for the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, NATIONAL REVIEW, HUMAN EVENTS, THE FREEMAN and numerous other publications.

W.M. Curtiss is author of THE TARIFF IDEA, and Executive Secretary of The Foundation for Economic Education.

Paul Poirot is author of THE PENSION IDEA and Editor of THE FREEMAN.

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TRAGIC SENSE OF LIFE

By Miguel de Unamuno

Immortality is at hand. Sciences such as gerontology, biophysics, and biochemistry promise prolonged life-extension in the *near* future and a probable "cure" for aging and death within the lifetimes of people alive today.

Research proceeds at a dizzying rate, and whether the most important breakthroughs come first in the area of transplants, cloned or artificial replacement organs, cryonics, anti-aging drugs, or simply improved regimens in diet and exercise, the medical path of the future seems clear. Death and aging will be conquered as surely as so many other diseases of the past.

There exists, however, a peculiar nonscientific problem that may accompany this progress: Many people are philosophically unprepared—even *opposed*—to the very idea of immortality. Unbelievably, there are living persons who fear not death, but life itself—if it is to be extended beyond some traditional limit. Such a position affects not only those that desire death sometime for themselves, but everyone else as well. For as Alan Harrington has observed:

> The attack on death has not been organized properly, for the simple reason that we have not dared announce it as an over-all objective. Still unconsciously afraid of antagonizing the gods (in this regard, the medical profession being as superstitious as the rest of us), we cannot bear to "speak the word," let the hubris out, that we have a secret intent to do away with death entirely. Having no word, we have no program.

There are several books out that present viable cases for eternal life—Ettinger's *Prospect of Immortality*, F.M. Esfandiary's *Optimism One*, Harrington's own *Immortalist*, and Jerome Tuccille's exuberant *Here Comes Immortality*. However, one of the most stirring and beautiful arguments on *why* people should desire immortality comes from a very strange and unusual book, Miguel de Unamuno's *Tragic Sense of Life*.

The book is strange in that it was written over 60 years ago—at a time when the state of the bio-medical arts offered *no* chance for personal survival beyond normally "allotted" life spans. Unusual, in that Unamuno—one of Spain's greatest philosophers and writers—developed his plea for immortality almost as an *aside* in the wider context of his overall religious view of life. This broader view is unfortunately filled with a great many errors. Objectivists and other atheists will find little of value in it—though others may enjoy its' lovely style and wide literary erudition.

Unamuno was professor of Greek at the University of Salamanca and possessed a most profound classical and humanist education. He was a proudly self-proclaimed individualist who set his goals high and thought little of those who did not do the same: "Only the feeble resign themselves to final death and substitute some other desire for the longing for personal immortality."

Despite his religious orientation, Unamuno felt that "the individual is the end of the Universe," and, even more startling, felt it important to state in the clearest possible language that:

> I do not want to die—no; I neither want to die nor do I want to want to die; I want to live for ever and ever and ever. I want this "I" to live—this "I" that I am and that I feel myself to be here and now. I am the centre of the universe.... Each man is worth more than the whole of humanity.... That which we call egoism is the principal of psychic gravity, the necessary postulate.

Though human freedom is in the final analysis always a volitional matter, always subject to individual choice and action, there *have* existed *external* barriers to its achievement. Mortality is the last and greatest of these. It will soon be removed from the human scene. The tragedy of Unamuno's title need be tragic no more. When science permits human beings to live forever, their sense of life will no longer have *any* excuse not to be transformed into one of eternal happiness, joy, and triumph. REVIEWED BY WILLIAM DANKS / **Philosophy** (330 pages) / **LR Price $2.50**

AN AFTERWORD FROM

Smith Replies to Hospers

This is in response to John Hospers' letter [*LR*, April] commenting on my review of C. J. Ducasse's book, *Causation and the Types of Necessity* [*LR*, January].

First, I agree with Professor Hospers that *Nature, Mind, and Death* represents Ducasse's "maturest thoughts" and that it is "a delight to read." Since, however, *LR* requested that I review *Causation and the Types of Necessity*, I trust that I shall not be taken too severely to task for doing my job.

Second, Professor Hospers takes issue with my claim that entities may properly be spoken of as causes. This is an important point, and one which needs to be pursued in greater detail. I can only sketch my position here.

Unless one rules out, a priori, final causation (i.e., causal explanation in terms of *purpose*), then it makes perfect sense to speak of an entity functioning as a cause. If, for example, we ask what caused a window to be opened, we may say that the proximate, or "efficient," cause was the upward movement of someone's arms. In another sense, however, we may speak of a final cause—e.g., the purpose of a person to let air in the room. This is one sense in which we may speak of an entity (in this case, a human being) as a cause. A given person, with a particular purpose in mind, caused the window to open. Notice that these two causal accounts—efficient and final—supplement each other; they focus on different aspects of the same state of affairs. (For those who wish to pursue this topic in more detail, I recommend Richard Taylor's *Action and Purpose*, and G. H. von Wright's *Explanation and Understanding*.)

Finally, I wish to comment on Professor Hospers' curious stance in regard to linguistic philosophy. Concerning the meaning of "linguistic philosophy," Professor Hospers writes: "If it means that philosophy is basically a study of language, then it is false." Precisely. But Ducasse's remarks come dangerously close to this position, which is why I objected to them. For instance, in distinguishing philosophy from the natural sciences, Ducasse says that philosophy "is not concerned at all with the facts of nature, either to discover them, to explain them, to relate them, or to predict them." What, then, is the subject matter of philosophy? According to Ducasse, "It is only with truths about such questions as the *meaning* of the term 'true,' or 'real,' or 'good,' and the like... that philosophy is concerned." (My emphasis.) In other words, "The pressing problems of philosophy are... primarily problems of definition...."

No sane person would dispute Professor Hospers' remarks concerning the importance of language in philosophic analysis, but to characterize such a view as "linguistic philosophy" is highly misleading, to say the least. A conception of "linguistic philosophy" that includes, by Professor Hospers' own admission, "every major philosopher from Plato and Aristotle to the present"—and which would therefore include such figures as Hegel—distorts the meaning of "linguistic philosophy" beyond recognition.

It is somewhat ironic, in this regard, that Professor Hospers cites Brand Blanshard's *Reason and Analysis* as a "classic of American philosophy." In two chapters devoted to a critique of "linguistic philosophy," Blanshard treats it as a distinctively modern movement which views the problems of philosophy as basically problems of language. Indeed, this is the meaning commonly ascribed to the label "linguistic philosophy," and it is a meaning which would *not* encompass Plato, Aristotle, et al.

This is the linguistic philosophy to which I strenuously object. Whatever contributions to clarity this trend has made (and even these are often exaggerated), its overall effect has been the trivialization of philosophy. If this dismissal of linguistic philosophy makes Professor Hospers "weary," then so be it.

GEORGE H. SMITH
Hollywood, Calif.

Letters from readers are welcome. Although only a selection can be published and none can be individually acknowledged, each will receive editorial consideration and may be passed on to reviewers and authors. Letters submitted for publication should be brief, typed, double spaced, and sent to LR, *410 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.*

Groupies?

In his review of Nathaniel Branden's pamphlet, *An Informal Discussion of Biocentric Therapy* [*LR*, March], David Kantorowitz makes the following comment: "One of the problems in reading or listening to Dr. Branden is believing that behavior and attitudinal change occurs in biocentric therapy at the great speed portrayed." Mr. Kantorowitz immediately adds, however, that on the basis of personal observation, he believes Branden's claims are accurate.

The implication we are left with is that if Branden's patients claim to have experienced very rapid "behavior and attitudinal change" as a result of their therapy, this is evidence of the validity of Branden's psychological theories.

Further on in the same review, Mr. Kantorowitz unwittingly makes a remark which calls this assumption into question: "Dr. Branden has privately confessed to me that the real reason that people develop psychological problems is in order to meet him."

Branden, of course, made his comment in jest, and this is also the apparent reason that Kantorowitz saw fit to include it in his review. But remarks made in jest often contain significant truths which the speaker would never admit openly. If we think about it for a moment, how can we avoid noting how very plausible is this idea that many of Branden's patients manufacture psychological problems *purely as an excuse to meet him*? Prior to his break with Rand, Branden had achieved a demigod status in the minds of tens of thousands of people—a status second only to that of Rand herself. To a considerable extent, he retains that status to this day. It is by no means implausible that a high proportion of his patients are primarily motivated by a desire to meet him and that they either manufacture or exaggerate problems in order to do so. Since "psychological problems" which the individual has merely decreed into existence can be quickly and easily decreed out of existence again, it is hardly a surprise that Branden's patients claim to have experienced very rapid behavior and attitude change as a result of their therapy. Such "results," while they may titillate Mr. Branden's ego, are neither evidence of the

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(Continued on page 14)

Readers, Authors, Reviewers

validity of his psychological theories nor of the validity of the idea that meaningful psychological change is something which can be achieved quickly.

MITCHELL JONES
Austin, Texas

While it may be accurate, as Mr. Jones points out, that comments made in jest are often true, it is comforting to note that serious, purposeful comments (see Mr. Jones' letter) are often not true.

There are two points in Mr. Jones' letter that merit comment. The first is the assertion that rapid progress in biocentric therapy may be due to clients' manufacturing problems in order to meet Dr. Branden. Once that purpose has been served, the problems may be quickly given up. The irony is that Dr. Branden's jest (clients really develop problems in order to meet him) was actually created by myself and aimed solely at injecting humor into a review generally conceived and written in a light style. While the jest was never made, the point involved remains. Every psychotherapist is aware that a percentage of his clientele are purchasing friendship by entering therapy. This is doubtless true in Branden's case as well. Mr. Jones, however, hints that this is the critical factor in explaining Branden's success.

As most things in life are possible, Mr. Jones' assertions are as well. I doubt their validity however. If Mr. Jones' points are correct, certain deducements would be logically suggested. First, clients who "knew of" Dr. Branden (you must know of someone before you can adorize him to the point of paying to meet him) would do better than clients who are referred to him by the usual sources. While many clients come to Branden after reading his books, etc., many come to him by the usual word-of-mouth sources. This latter group of people are not libertarians and often have never heard of Branden's objectivist history. I have genuinely failed to notice a differential response by these two groups to Branden's efforts. Second, since concrete problems that are confirmed by others (e.g., impotence, obesity) are more likely to be "real" than amorphous problems unsupported by any observable data, then clients reporting concrete problems should not do as well as the other group of clients. Again, as far as I can tell, this is just not the case.

In any event, the success engendered by any form of uncontrolled, clinical intervention cannot lend conclusive evidence of the validity of underlying psychological theories. The issue is a methodological one. Regardless of the logical deducement of therapy intervention from theory, one can never partial out the effects of the therapist (unwitting reinforcement and modeling of desired behavior) and other set factors. Proving a functional relationship between behavior or attitude and suspected cause relies upon controlled manipulation of the cause with regular changes noted in the behavior. Rarely is such control demonstrated in a clinical setting. Dr. Branden is not experimentally oriented in this way nor would his style of working lend easily to this type of effort. Quick progress in therapy indicates achievement of quick progress in therapy—nothing more.

DAVID A. KANTOROWITZ
Santa Monica, Calif.

Monstrous!

Long a follower of the horror/science-fiction genre, I am disappointed at Robert LeFevre's superficial review of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. He spends most of his review lauding Shelley's virtues, her fascination with the Prometheus legend, and the novel's purported anti-statist theme; only one sentence is given over to a factual description of the story.

In fact, there is really no parallel between the Prometheus legend and Shelley's novel. Prometheus was moved by compassion to take the responsibility for imparting power to humanity. In contrast, Victor Frankenstein is driven by egotistical monomania in an enterprise whose consequences he cowardly evades. The story of *Frankenstein* is the story of the hatred and cruelty visited on a benevolent and prodigious creature—who repays its tormentors with bitter revenge. Victor Frankenstein is the moral monster of this classic tale, for he sets the course of his creature's development.

Unfortunately, most persons are familiar with the tale only through the prostituted mummery of the cinema, thereby associating the hoary machine-running-amok theme with the novel. I recommend that all persons should read *Frankenstein*, if only to get the facts straight.

It is not easy reading, however. LeFevre neglects to mention the crucial fact that Mary Shelley was an amateur attempting one of the first experiments in the novel as a literary form. Expectably, the novel suffers from a ponderous plot-line and mannered prose. Although Shelley ricochets from one moral theme to another, nothing is resolved, and religious notions of "blasphemy" pervade all considerations of Victor's responsibility. *Frankenstein* is basically an ambitious novel written inexpertly by a person of limited philosophical insight. There is no internal evidence to support LeFevre's Man-vs.-the-State symbolism, and such an interpretation only intrudes into and distorts the actual meaning of the story.

If readers are interested in tales of the generation and regeneration of monsters, they might well be interested in either Alfred Bester's *The Demolished Man* or Robert Silverberg's *The Second Trip*. But, above all, read *Frankenstein* with clear eyes.

MIKE DUNN
Seattle, Wash.

Monster expert Mike Dunn, self-proclaimed horror/science-fiction follower, now finds horror in my review of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. Moving from sci-fi [*Argh!*—KTP] to fantasy he finds that Dr. Frankenstein is the monster, Mary Shelley not far behind, and most monstrous of all is LeFevre, who fails to see the story as Mike Dunn sees it.

Peace, o monster critic. You have a right to see it through your own horrendous point of view. And so do I. And the fact that we disagree may indeed stir a few of the slothful to obtain a copy and read for themselves; the point of any book review when the book is worthy of thoughtful readership.

ROBERT LEFEVRE
Orange, Calif.

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A Word To Our Readers

■ This month *Libertarian Review* goes to 16 pages. This one-third increase in size—*at no increase in cost to you*—makes it possible for us to bring you more reviews each month. Also new this month is "LR Book Briefs," which you will find on page 10. Each month, "Book Briefs" will give you mini-reviews of several titles of interest to libertarians, all of which we will make available to you through the *LR* Mail-Order Service.

The new *Libertarian Review* gives you more for your money—a rare thing in these inflationary times! Why not extend your subscription today? One year (12 issues) of the expanded *LR* is still only $6. As a way of saying thanks for saving us the cost of mailing you a renewal notice, we will send you free a copy of Murray N. Rothbard's "Nobel Prize to Hayek" (which includes an interview with Hayek held by *LR* associate editor Tibor Machan). For details of this offer, see the "FREE" box below.

■ This past April, the Science Fiction Writers of America awarded the first Grand Master Nebula Award to Robert A. Heinlein. The award was created by SFWA to honor living science fiction writers whose works, taken as a whole, have profoundly and positively influenced the sf genre. It is only fitting for Heinlein, who has been called "one of the greatest tellers of tales America has produced," to have received the first Grand Master Nebula, for his work quite literally has shaped the course of modern science fiction. Treat yourself to some of the Grand Master's best from the *LR* Mail-Order Service: *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress* ($1.25), *Stranger in a Strange Land* ($1.50), and *Time Enough for Love* ($4.77—our cost).

■ Available this month *at our cost* is the Murray Rothbard poster done by Deanne Hollinger. This poster, depicting one of the giants of contemporary libertarianism, measures 22″ × 24″. Professionally done and suitable for framing, it is available from the *LR* Book Service for only $1. Buy several and get your Christmas shopping done early this year!

■ This month we are offering 10% off on *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941*, the definitive study of pre-World War II American foreign policy by the distinguished revisionist historian James J. Martin. This two-volume boxed set was reviewed by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr., in the May 1974 *Libertarian Review*. It is the perfect companion to *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, edited by Harry Elmer Barnes and reviewed by James J. Martin in our April 1975 issue. Together these works will give you the *real story* of U.S. foreign policy from Hoover to Hiroshima. This month only, *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941* is yours at the low price of $20.25.

■ Things to Come: Future issues of *LR* will feature Nicholas von Hoffman on Karl Hess' *Dear America*, J. Neil Schulman reviewing Tuccille's *Who's Afraid of 1984?*, Walter E. Grinder on the Great Depression, Robert Masters offering some reflections on Nietzsche, and Ida Walters on the possibilities offered by bio-feedback. And beginning in August: Jeff Riggenbach's new series on the world's great literature. Stick with us; you won't be disappointed!

■ *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, by Robert Nozick, continues to receive serious attention from critics and friends alike. Now, added to the extensive coverage given the book in *Newsweek*, *New Republic*, *Forbes*, the *New York Review of Books*, and the *New York Times*, comes the news that Nozick has been given the National Book Award in philosophy and religion. It is a rare thing when a serious philosophical work creates such a stir. Read it and find out why. (*LR* price $12.95.)

■ The *LR* Book Service is happy to once again have in stock the libertarian classic *Human Action*, by Ludwig von Mises. For several months the book was unavailable from the publisher. Unfortunately, the ravages of inflation have taken their toll; *Human Action* is now selling for $20.

REVIEWERS FOR THIS ISSUE: Barbara Branden lives in Los Angeles and recently completed her first novel, *Price No Object*. **William Danks** is a Fellow of the University of Hawaii's Faculty Institute on Planetary Resource Management. **John Hospers** is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Southern California, the winner of one electoral vote in the 1972 presidential election, and an *LR* associate editor. **C. Ronald Kimberling** is a free-lance writer whose work has appeared in *The New Guard*, *Human Events*, *The Individualist*, and *Oui*, where he is a regular contributor to the "Openers" section. **Robert LeFevre** is the founder and past president of Rampart College and the editor of *LeFevre's Journal*. **Leonard P. Liggio** teaches history at City College of New York. **Henry G. Manne** is Director and Distinguished Professor of Law at the Center for Studies in Law and Economics, University of Miami School of Law. **Robert Masters** is a free-lance writer currently in transit between the wilds of New York City and the wilds of Washington state. **Robert Poole, Jr.** is an editor of *Reason* magazine. **Jeff Riggenbach** is book reviewer for the Los Angeles all-news radio station KFWB. **Murray N. Rothbard**, Professor of Economics at the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, is an *LR* associate editor, editor of *Libertarian Forum*, and libertarianism's man for all seasons. **Robert Sherrill** is Washington correspondent of the *Nation* and a prolific writer on American politics. **Jarret B. Wollstein** studied psychology at the University of Maryland and is currently in the investment business.

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HAYEK

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